668 of hsiang governments is the strengthening of
632 rural leadership. The principle of collective leadership was the central theme. It called for redesignation of the Committee jobs, the introduction of new administrative procedures, and the strengthening of Party leadership over other mass organizations. The old practice of concentration of power in one individual and the delegation of power to a few were declared outmoded methods.

C. The Election and the Post-Constitution Period

• 666 The Communists' announcement of nation-wide elections in 1953 indicated the degree of confidence in their power at the basic administrative levels. However, the elections held in 1953 and 1954 served again as an instrument to liquidate opposition.

668 In the East China Region, the attempt to
631 abolish the village as an administrative unit and to reallocate hsiang administrations has been designated as one of the tasks involved in the establishment of Communist power in the rural area prior to the elections.[57] However, before 1953 such tasks were restricted to a few places and served to gain experience before

57. Directive of rural political works, ibid., July 9, 1952, p. 1.

668 the government view and that it employs self-criticism as one of its primary techniques.

It seems that the Communist control in the cities is much more rigid and forceful than in the villages. With the spread of Communist domination in many mass organizations, factories and other professional organizations, Communist control in the city is further strengthened. No doubt the public security sub-stations play a leading role in the enforcement of government rules. However, the importance of other organizations, notably the procuratorates and the Peoples' co rts, should not be minimized.

SECTION THREE

ELECTION AND POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

I. ELECTIONS

• 666 The nationwide election which produced the People's congress at all levels was held in the East China Region between 1953 and July-August 1954. A Communist election is a process whereby organized propaganda is concentrated for purposes of political indoctrination. People are not allowed to choose between policies and candidates. The fact that there is only one political platform removes this

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possibility. Secondly, elections are not merely a political process but a political struggle whereby opposition is liquidated and undesirables are eliminated. This is ensured by the selection of candidates and by the examination of each candidate's qualifications.

A. Election Committee and the Election

Article 3 of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China,[62] passed and promulgated on March 1, 1953, stipulates that deputies to People's congresses of a province, county, or a municipality divided into districts shall be elected by a like People's congresses of the next lower level. Deputies to the People's congress of a hsiang, town, municipal district, or municipality divided into districts shall be elected directly by the electors. To administer these elections at all levels, the electoral law provides for the establishment of election committees at all levels down to the hsiang. Members of the committee are appointed by the People's government of the next higher level. Article 3 is further reinforced by assigning to the committee additional functions at the hsiang level, according to a directive issued in April 1953 by the Central Election Committee[63] First, the chairman of the

62. The Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congress of all levels, Peking, Foreign Languages Press, 1953.

63. For the directive, see People's Daily, April 6, 1953, p. 1.

666 committee is appointed among the workers from the higher level. Secondly, the committee defines electoral districts. Each district shall have at least two-hundred in order to supply 2-3 representatives. Thirdly, a voter-qualification examination board is established. Only those who pass the examination receive the electoral certificate. Fourthly, committees at the hsiang level have control of the selection of candidates through direct negotiations between the Party and representatives of mass organizations within the election committee.

While the elections to the Peoples' congresses above the county level may be conducted by secret ballot, the election of deputies to the People's congresses of a hsiang, town, municipal district, and the election of hsiang or a town deputy to a county People's congress may be conducted by a show of hands or by secret ballot (Article 55). In such a case, election meetings are held under the supervision of the election committee. On that day, all efforts are made to force full participation. In 521 hsiangs and 44 towns in East China, 90 per cent of the voters went to the polls.[64]

Elections at the basic levels in the East China Region were held in several groups. The

64. People's Daily, August 13, 1953, p. 3.

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initial step involved the holding of experimental elections in selected areas. At the end of September 1953, in the thirty-two cities in the East China Region,[65] 36 municipal ch'ü, 645 election districts, and 74 public security sub-station areas had completed elections. The experience gained served to facilitate the conduct of elections in all cities in the region. A large number of cadres were trained to assis In the province of Shantung, the first group of trainees numbered 7,000 plus 5,000 technical people.[66] These people were organized into election teams and were the responsible cadre in the election committees at the lower levels.

The reallocation of election districts in the city and the examination of voters' qualifications were the two most tedious tasks involved in the election. In the city, the reallocation of election districts were based on the distribution of public sub-stations. In the second ch'ü of Tsinan,[67] Shantung, 44 election districts were allocated from six public sub-stations, with a total of 67,697 people. Each election district included 1,538 people; from each district 2-5 representatives were chosen. The examination of voters' qualifications was

65. Ibid., November 21, 1953, p. 3.
66. Ibid., May 26, 1953, p. 3.
67. Ibid.,

666 carried out either by the organization to which they belonged or by the urban inhabitants' committees. In the latter case, the public security sub-stations played a decisive role, especially within the examination board, where the final deicision regarding qualification was determined. Similar procedures were observed in the village; however, simple conditions in the rural communities made the tasks easier.

B. Selection and Nomination of Candidates

Article 47 regulates the nominations of candidates. Members of the Communist Party, the various democratic parties, the various People's organizations, and elector or representatives who are not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organizations may be nominated as candidates for election as deputies, either jointly through negotiation among the groups or separately by each party, according to electoral districts and electoral units. In all cases, however, joint nomination is the rule and the caucus is adopted. Negotiations on the nominations of candidates above the provincial and municipal level is made through the consultative conference at each respective level. In county and smaller bodies where such a conference is not held, negotiations are carried out by the election committee. A preliminary list of the candidates is given to the electors' discussion group for approval and return to the election committee. The final list is then published five days before the election.

C. Election Campaign and Fund

666 The practice of joint nomination of candidates eliminates the need for election campaigning. Candidates from other parties and organizations so selected must, of course, first meet the approval of the local organs. Once approved, election is assured. If any campaigning is involved, it takes place only at the Party meetings and discussion group meetings, where the individual's qualifications may be questioned and some interrogation may become necessary. Article 8 of the electoral law permits disbursement of funds by the national treasury for election expenses. Since campaigning is rare, no provisions are made for the collection and use of campaign funds. Article 62 of the electoral law singles out bribery as an offense. Other unlawful practices, including violence, intimidation, and fraud, are regarded as offenses liable to fine or imprisonment.

II. POLITICS OF MINOR PARTIES

665 After 1950 minor parties were established gradually in the key cities of the East China Region. They include the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang (RCKMT), the China Association for Promotion of Democracy (CAPD), the Democratic League (DL), the Chinese Peasant Workers' Democratic Party (CPWDP), and the Chih Kung Tang (CKT).